

# The Spirit of Democracy.

"PRINCIPLES AND MEASURES, AND MEN THAT WILL CARRY THOSE PRINCIPLES AND MEASURES INTO EFFECT."

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WOODSFIELD, OHIO, FRIDAY, AUGUST 2, 1844.

VOLUME I. NUMBER 23.

From the Indiana State Sentinel.  
**LETTER FROM GENERAL JACKSON.**  
The following letter from General Jackson was received a few days since by a citizen of this county. At the request of several citizens to whom its contents were communicated, we take great pleasure in giving it to the public.

HERMITAGE, June, 24, 1844.

Sir: I am in receipt of your letter of the 11th instant, and, though in bad health myself, cannot forego the pleasure of saying a few words in reply to it.

You request my opinion of the nominations recently made at Baltimore by the democratic party. I am entirely satisfied with them, and have no doubt, if the gentlemen nominated are elected, that the people will find their administration true to the old republican landmarks, and every way worthy of their support.

Mr. Polk was raised in my neighborhood, and went into public life as a Jeffersonian democrat. To the great principles of that illustrious reformer of our system of government he has been ever faithful; and has proved himself on many trying occasions the able advocate of popular rights, and the sagacious friend of the measures which were necessary to defeat the machinations of the federal party. His moral character is pure; his capacity for business great; and to extraordinary powers of labor, both mental and physical, he unites that tact and judgment which are so requisite to the successful direction of such an office as that of chief magistrate of a free people.

With Mr. Dallas I am not so intimately acquainted, but from what I knew of him when he represented Pennsylvania in the Senate of the United States, and was charged with high public trusts in various other important stations at home and abroad, I cannot be doubted that he equally deserves the confidence and admiration of the people. The favor that has been conferred upon him by the Keystone State, whose citizens are distinguished for love of order, and for the support only of what is calculated to spread the blessings of equal laws, are proof that he has all the characteristics which are needed in a crisis like this, to rally the sound feelings of the country at large.

I thank you, sir, for the solicitude you have expressed for my personal welfare. My race is nearly run. I am now not able to attend to the duties of correspondence without the aid of an amanuensis; but I thank God for the privilege yet accorded to me of comprehending the designs of the federal party. As long as I live I will warn my country against the dangers which will attend the success of Mr. Clay's proposition to establish another mammoth bank; to break down the security which the people possess in the veto power given to the President by the constitution; to change the system of taxation under which we have so long prospered, by admitting the principle claimed in his bill for the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands; and lastly, to prevent the annexation of Texas to the United States—for it cannot be denied that his position on this question is utterly at war with the true interests of his country. He says virtually that Texas ought not to be admitted into the Union while there is a respectable and considerable portion of our citizens opposed to it. On such a condition it is obvious annexation can never take place. British influence had considerable and respectable advocates in this country in our revolutionary war, and in our second war with her. Will it ever be without them? Never. As long as there are fanatics in religion, as long as there are diversities and differences in human opinion respecting the forms of government and the rights of the people, such advocacy will be found resisting the advance of institutions like ours, and laboring to incorporate with them the features of an opposite system.

Who does not see that the people of the United States are competitors with the people of England in the manufacturing arts, and in carrying the trade of the world? And that the question is soon to be, if it be not already, whether Texas and Oregon are to be considered as auxiliaries to American or British interests? whether these vast and fertile regions are to be settled and worked by our posterity, blessed by republican government, or are to become the theatre of British enterprise, and thus add another link to the vast colonial chain by which that great monarchy upholds its lords and nobles, and extracts from suffering millions the earnings of their labor?

Nor is the question altered by the alleged interest of Mexico in the Texas territory. As far as treaties are concerned, good faith is not involved in our decision. If the proposition were to annex Mexico with her assets, Texas could not complain. But we all know that the treaty argument is not only inapplicable, but incapable of use in the determination of the question, either as it affects us, Mexico or other powers. Texas is independent of Mexico—made so by the power of her arms, in the same sense that we became independent of Great Britain. She is independent of Mexico in another sense; that is in never having constituted a part of Mexico, except by a compact which the latter has violated, and which compact would never have been formed if the United States had performed its duty.

But, without pursuing this view of the subject it is enough for us to look at the question as it is practically presented to us. Texas tells us she is anxious to come into the Union. Being originally a part of our Union, knowing that she cannot exist happily as a State without the protection of our laws, that her geographical position, as well as the character and interest of her citizens, necessarily attach them to our territory; and feeling, as we may well suppose she does, a greater concern for the fate of our free institutions than she can for those of any monarchy, she is desirous that her fertile lands and genial climate should share the glorious instrumentality of cherishing and maintaining the blessings of freedom. Is this unnatural? Can it be wise for us to turn a deaf ear to her entreaty, because Lord Aberdeen and Lord Brougham, as British statesmen, choose to withhold their consent

and indulge in vague apprehensions respecting the effect of the measure on this scheme of abolishing slavery? Shame, shame on such patriotism! Shame on the credulity which can be duped by such flimsy pretences!

The American people cannot be deceived in this manner. They know that the real object of England is to destroy the prosperity of the United States, and lessen their power to compete with England as a naval power, and as a growing, agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial country. They know that Lord Aberdeen, in the midst of thousands and thousands of starving subjects of the British monarchy, is more anxious, or ought to be, to relieve the wants of those wretched people than he can be to alter the relation subsisting between the white and black races of this country or Texas.

The American people know this: and they will disappoint me if they neglect, or rather if they permit, those charged with the administration of their national interests, to let slip the opportunity now offered of cementing their union, and promoting the general causes of their prosperity and happiness by the annexation of Texas.

I am, very truly,  
Your obedient servant,  
ANDREW JACKSON.

MR. WALKER ON ANNEXATION.

The following is that portion of Senator Walker's letter on the annexation of Texas which treats of the question of

SLAVERY.

The only remaining objection is the question of slavery. And have we a question which is to curtail the limits of the republic—to threaten its existence—to aim a deadly blow at all its great and vital interests—to court alliance with foreign and with hostile powers—to recall our commerce, and expel our manufactures from bays and rivers that once were all our own—to strike down the flag of the Union as it advances towards our ancient boundary—to surrender a mighty territory, and invite to its occupancy the deadliest (in truth the only) foe this government has ever encountered? Is anti-slavery to do all this? And is it so to endanger New Orleans, and the valley and commerce and outlet of the west, that we would hold them, not by our own strength, but by the slender tenure of the will and of the mercy of Great Britain? If anti-slavery can effect all this, may God, in his infinite mercy, save and perpetuate this Union; for the efforts of man would be feeble and impotent. The avowed object of this party is the immediate abolition of slavery. For this, they traverse sea and land; for this they hold conventions in the capital of England; and there they brood over schemes of abolition, in association with British societies; there they join in denunciations of their countrymen, until their hearts are filled with treason; and they return home, Americans in name, but Englishmen in feelings and principles. Let us all, then, feel and know, whether we live north or south, that this party, if not vanquished, must overthrow the government, and dissolve the Union. This party propose the immediate abolition of slavery throughout the Union. If this were practicable, let us look at the consequences. By the return of the last census, the products of the slaveholding States, in 1840, amounted in value to \$404,429,638. These products, then, of the south, must have alone enabled it to furnish a home market for all the surplus manufactures of the north, as also a market for the products of its forests and fisheries; and giving a mighty impulse to all its commercial and navigating interests. Now, nearly all these agricultural products of the south, which accomplish all these great purposes, are the result of slave labor; and strike down these products by the immediate abolition of slavery, and the markets of the south, for want of the means to purchase, will be lost to the people of the north, and north and south will be involved in one common ruin. Yes, in the harbors of the north, (at Philadelphia, New York, and Boston,) the vessels would rot at their wharves, for want of exchangeable products to carry; the building of ships would cease; and the grass would grow in many a street, now enlivened by an active and progressive industry. In the interior, the railroads, and canals would languish for want of business; and the factories and manufacturing towns and cities, decaying and deserted, would stand as blasted monuments of the folly of man. One universal bankruptcy would overspread the country, together with all the demoralization and crime which ever accompany such a catastrophe; and the notices at every corner would point only to sales on execution by the constable, the sheriff, the marshal, and the auctioneer; while the beggars would ask us in the street, not for money, but for bread. Dark as the picture may be, it could not exceed the gloomy reality. Such would be the effects in the north; while in the south, no human heart can conceive, nor pen describe the dreadful consequences. Let us look at another result to the north. The slaves, being emancipated, not by the south, but by the north, would fly there for safety and protection; and three millions of free blacks would be thrown at once, as if by a convulsion of nature, upon the States of the north. They would come there to their friends of the north, who had given them freedom, to give them also habitation, food, and clothing; and, not having it to give, many of them would perish from want and exposure; whilst the wretched remainder would be left to live as they could, by theft or charity. They would still be a degraded caste, free only in name, without the reality of freedom. A few might earn a wretched and precarious subsistence by competing with the white laborers of the north, and reducing their wages to the lowest point in the sliding scale of starvation and misery; whilst the poor house and the jail, the asylums of the deaf and dumb, the blind, the idiot and insane, would be filled to overflowing; if, indeed, any asylum could be afforded the negro race whom wretchedness and crime would drive to despair and madness.

That these are real realities, is proved by the census of 1840. I annex in an appendix a table, marked No. 1, compiled by me entirely from the official returns of the census of 1840, except as to paupers and paupers which are obtained from city and State returns, and the results are as follows:

1st. The number of deaf and dumb, blind, idiot, and insane, of the negroes in the non-slaveholding States, is one out of every 96; in the slaveholding States, it is one out of every 672, or seven to one in favor of the slaves in this respect as compared with the free blacks.

2d. The number of whites, deaf and dumb, blind, idiot, and insane, in the non-slaveholding States, is one in every 561, being nearly six to one against the free blacks in the same States.

3d. The number of negroes who are deaf and dumb, blind, idiot, and insane, paupers and in prison in the non-slaveholding States, one out of every 6, and in the slaveholding States, one out of every 154; or twenty-two to one against the free blacks, as compared with the slaves.

4th. Taking the two extremes of north and south, in Maine, the number of negroes returned as deaf and dumb, blind, idiot, and insane, by the census of 1840, is one out of every 12; and in slaveholding Florida, by the same returns, is one of every 1109; or ninety-two to one, in favor of the slaves of Florida, as compared with the free blacks of Maine.

By the report of the Secretary of State of Massachusetts (of the 1st November, 1843) to the legislature, there were then in the county jails, and houses of correction in that State, 4,020 whites, and 364 negroes; and adding the previous returns of the State prison, 255 whites and 32 blacks; making in all 4,275 whites, and 396 free blacks; being one out of every one hundred and seventy of the white, and one out of every twenty one of the free black population; and by the official returns of the census of 1840, and their own official returns to their own legislature, one out of every thirteen of the free blacks of Massachusetts was either deaf and dumb, blind, idiot, or insane, or in prison—thus proving a degree of debasement and misery, on the part of the colored race, in that truly great State which is appalling. In the last official report to the legislature of the warden of the penitentiary of eastern Pennsylvania, he says: "The whole number of prisoners received from the opening of the institution, (October 25th, 1829), to January 1, 1843, is 1,622; of these 1,004 were white males, 533 colored males; 27 white females, and 58 colored females;" or one out of every 847 of the white, and one out of every 64 of the negro population; and of the white female convicts, one out of every 16,288; and of the colored female convicts, one out of every 349 in prison, showing a degree of guilt and debasement on the part of the colored females revolting and unparalleled. When such is the debasement of the colored females, far exceeding even that of the white females, in the most corrupt cities of Europe, extending, too, throughout one-half the limits of a great State, we may begin to form some idea of the dreadful condition of the free blacks, and how much worse than that of the slaves whom we are asked to liberate, and consign to a similar condition of guilt and misery. Where, too, are these examples? The first is in the great State of Massachusetts, that, for 64 years, has never had a slave, and whose free black population, being 5,463 in 1790 and but 8,669 at present, is nearly the same free negro population, and their descendants, who for more than half a century she has strived, but strived in vain to elevate in rank and comfort and morals. The other example is the eastern half of the great State of Pennsylvania, including Philadelphia and the Quakers of the State, who, with an industry and humanity that never tired, and a charity that spared not time or money, have exerted every effort to improve the morals and better the condition of their free black population. But where are the great results? Let the census and the reports of prisons answer. Worse, incomparably worse, than the condition of the slaves, and demonstrating that the free black in the midst of his friends in the north, is sinking lower every day in the scale of want and crime and misery. The regular physician's report and review, published in 1840, says the "facts, then, show an increasing disproportionate number of colored prisoners in the eastern penitentiary." In contrasting the condition, for the same year of all the non-slaveholding States, as compared with all the slaveholding States in which returns are made, I find the number of free blacks as fifty four to one, as compared with the slaves, in proportion to population, who are incarcerated in these prisons.—There are no paupers among the slaves, whilst in the non-slaveholding States, great is the number of colored paupers.

From the Belgian statistics, compiled by Mr. Quetelet, the distinguished secretary of the Royal Academy of Brussels, it appears that in Belgium the number of deaf and dumb was one out of every 2,160 persons; in Great Britain, one out of every 1,539; in Italy, one out of every 1,539; and in Europe, one out of every 1,474. Of the blind, one out of every 1,009 in Belgium; one out of every 800 in Prussia; one out of every 1,000 in France; and one out of every 1,666 in Saxony; and no further returns, as to the blind, are given.—[Belgian Annuaire, 1836, pp. 213, 215, 217.]—But the table shows an average in Europe of one out of every 1,474 of deaf and dumb; and of about one out of every 1,000 of blind; whereas, our census shows of the deaf and dumb whites of the Union, one out of every 2,193; and of the free blacks, one out of every 656; also, of the blind, one out of every 2,821 of the whites of the Union, and one out of every 516 of the blacks in the non-slaveholding States. Thus we have not only shown the condition of the blacks of the non-slaveholding States to be far worse than that of the slaves of the south, but also far worse than the condition of the people of Europe, deplorable as that may be. It has been heretofore shown that the free blacks in the non-slaveholding States were becoming in an augmented proportion, more debased in morals as they increased in numbers; and the same proposition is true in other respects.

Thus, by the census of 1830, the number of deaf and dumb of the free blacks of the non-slaveholding States was one out of every 996; and of blind, one out of every 893; whereas, we have seen, by the census of 1840, the number of free blacks, deaf and dumb, in the non-slaveholding States, was one out of every 656; and of blind, one out of every 516. In the last ten years, then, the alarming fact is proved, that the proportionate number of free black deaf and dumb, and also of blind, has increased about fifty per cent. No statement as to the insane or idiots is given in the census of 1830.

Let us now examine the future increase of free blacks in the States adjoining the slaveholding States, if Texas is not reannexed to the Union. By the census of 1830, the number of free blacks in the States (adding New York) adjoining the slaveholding States, was 13,963. In the States (adding New York) adjacent to the slave holding States, the number of free blacks, by the census of 1840, was 148,107; being an aggregate increase of nearly eleven to one in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. Now, by the census and table above given, the aggregate number of free blacks who were deaf and dumb, blind, idiot, or insane, paupers, or in prisons, in the non-slaveholding States, was 26,342, or one in every six of the whole number. Now, if the free black population should increase in the same ratio, in the aggregate, in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, from 1840 to 1890, as it did from 1790 to 1840, the aggregate free black population in these six States would be, in 1890, 1,600,000; in 1865, 800,000; in 1853, 400,000; and the aggregate number in these six States of free blacks, according to the present proportion, who would then be deaf and dumb, blind, idiot, or insane, paupers or in prison, would be, in 1890, 266,666; in 1865, 133,333; and in 1853, 66,666; being, as we have seen one-sixth of the whole number. Now, if the annual cost of supporting these free blacks in these asylums, and other houses, including the interest on the sums expended in their erection, and for annual repairs, and the money disbursed for the arrest, trial, conviction and transportation of the criminals amounted to fifty dollars each, the annual tax on the people of these six States, on account of these free blacks, would be in 1890, \$13,333,200; in 1865, \$6,666,600; and in 1853, \$3,333,300.

Does, then, humanity require that we should render the blacks more debased and miserable, by this process of abolition, with greater temptations to crime, with more of real guilt, and less of actual comfort? As the free blacks are thrown more and more upon the cities of the north, and compete more there with the white laborer, the condition of the blacks becomes worse and more perilous every day, until we have already seen the masses of Cincinnati and Philadelphia rise to expel the negro race beyond their limits. Immediate abolition, whilst it deprived the South of the means to purchase the products of the North and West, would fill those States with an inundation of free black population that would be absolutely intolerable. Immediate abolition, then, has but few advocates; but if emancipation were not immediate but only gradual, whilst slavery existed to any great extent in the slaveholding States bordering upon the States of the North and West, this expulsion, by gradual abolition, of the free blacks into the States immediately north of them, would be very considerable, and rapidly augmenting every year. If this process of gradual abolition only doubled the number of free blacks to be thrown upon the States of the North and West, then a reference to the tables before presented proves that the number of free blacks in New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois would be in 1890, 3,200,000; in 1865, 1,600,000; and in 1853, 800,000; and that the annual expenses to the people of these six States, on account of the free black, would be in 1890, \$26,666,400; in 1865, \$13,333,200; and in 1853, \$6,666,600.

It was in view no doubt, of these facts, that Mr. Davis, of New York, declared, upon the floor of Congress, on the 29th of December, 1843, that the "abolition of slavery in the southern States must be followed by a deluge of black population to the North, filling our jails and poor houses, and bringing destruction upon the laboring portion of our people." Mr. Duncan also, of Cincinnati, Ohio, in his speech in Congress on the 6th January, 1844, declared the result of abolition would be to inundate the North with free blacks, described by him as "paupers, beggars, thieves, assassins, and desperadoes; all, or nearly all, penniless and destitute, without skill, means, industry or perseverance to obtain a livelihood; such possessing and cherishing revenge for supposed or real wrongs. No man's fireside, person, family, or property, would be safe by day or night. It now requires the whole energies of the law and the whole vigilance of the police of all our principal cities to restrain and keep in subordination the few straggling free negroes that now infest them." If such be the case now, what will be the result when by abolition, gradual or immediate, the number of these free negroes shall be doubled and quadrupled, and decupled in the more northern of the slaveholding States, before slavery had receded from their limits and nearly the whole of which free black population would be thrown on the adjacent non-slaveholding States. Much, if not all of this great evil will be prevented by the reannexation of Texas. Since the purchase of Louisiana and Florida, and the settlement of Alabama and Mississippi, there have been carried into this region, as the census demonstrates, from the States of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia and Kentucky half a million of slaves, including their descendants, that otherwise would now be within the limits of those four States.

Such has been the result as to have diminished, in two of these States nearest to the North, the number of their slaves far below what they were at the census of 1790, and to have reduced them at the census of 1840, in Delaware, to the small num-

ber of 2,605. Now, if we double the rate of diminution, as we certainly will by the re-annexation of Texas, slavery will disappear from Delaware in ten years, and from Maryland in twenty, and have greatly diminished in Virginia and Kentucky. As then, by reannexation, slavery advances in Texas, it must recede to the same extent from the more northern of the slaveholding States; and consequently, the evil to the northern States, from the expulsion into them of free blacks, by abolition, gradual or immediate, would thereby be greatly mitigated, if not entirely prevented. In the District of Columbia, by the drain to the new States and Territories of the South and Southwest, the slaves have been reduced from 6,119 in 1830, to 4,694 in 1840; and if, by the reannexation, slavery receded in a double ratio, then it would disappear altogether from the District in twelve years; and that question, which now occupies so much of the time of Congress, and threatens so seriously the harmony, if not the existence of the Union, would be put at rest by the reannexation of Texas. This reannexation, then, would only change the locality of the slaves, and of the slaveholding States, without augmenting their number. And is Texas to be lost to the Union, not by the question of the existence of slavery, but of its locality only? If slavery be considered by the States of the North as an evil, why should they prefer that its location should be continued in States on their border, rather than in the more distant portions of the Union? It is clear that, as slavery advanced in Texas, it would recede from the States bordering on the free States of the North and West; and thus they would be released from actual contact with what they consider an evil, and also from all influx from those States of a large and constantly augmenting free black population. As regards the slaves, the African being from a tropical climate, and from the region of the burning sands and sun, his comfort and condition would be greatly improved, by a transfer from northern latitudes to the genial and most salubrious climate of Texas. There he would never suffer from that exposure to cold and frost, which he feels so much more severely than any other race, and there, also, from the great fertility of the soil, and exuberance of its products, his supply of food would be abundant. If a desire to improve the condition and increase the comforts of the slave really animated the anti-slavery party, they would be the warmest advocates of the reannexation of Texas. Nor can it be disguised that, by the reannexation, as the number of free blacks augmented in the slaveholding States, they would be diffused gradually through Texas into Mexico, and Central and Southern America, where nine-tenths of their present population are already of the colored race, and where, from their vast preponderance in number, they are not a degraded caste, but upon a footing, not merely of legal, but what is far more important, of actual equality with the rest of the population. Here, then, if Texas is reannexed throughout the vast region and salubrious and delicious climate of Mexico, and of Central and Southern America, a large and rapidly increasing portion of the African race will disappear from the limits of the Union. The process will be gradual and progressive, without a shock, and without a convulsion; whereas, by the loss of Texas, and the imprisonment of the slave population of the Union within its present limits, slavery would increase in nearly all the slaveholding States, and a change in their condition would become impossible; or if it did take place by sudden or gradual abolition, the result would be certainly the sudden or gradual introduction of hundreds of thousands of free blacks into the States of the North; and if their condition there is already deplorable, how would it be when their number there should be augmented tenfold, and the burden become intolerable? Then, indeed, by the loss of the markets of Texas—by the taxation imposed by an immense free black population, depressing the value of all property—then, also, from the competition for employment of the free blacks with the white laborer of the North, his wages would be reduced until they would fall to ten or twenty cents a day, and starvation and misery would be introduced among the white laboring population. There is but one way in which the North can escape these evils: and that is the reannexation of Texas, which is the only safety-valve for the whole Union, and the only practicable outlet for the African population, through Texas, into Mexico and Central and Southern America.—There is a congenial climate for the African race. There cold and want and hunger will not drive the African, as we see it does in the North, into the poor-house and the jail, and the asylums of the idiot and insane. There the boundless and almost unpeopled territory of Mexico, and of Central and Southern America, with its delicious climate, and most prolific soil, renders most easy the means of subsistence; and there they would not be a degraded caste, but equals among equals, not only by law, but by feeling and association.

The medical writers all say, (and experience confirms the assertion,) that ill-treatment, overwork, neglect, in infancy and sickness, drunkenness, want, and crime, are the chief causes of idiocy, blindness, and lunacy; whilst none will deny that want and guilt fill the poor-house and the jail.—Why is it, then, that the free black is (as the census proves) much more wretched in condition, and debased in morals, than the slave? These free blacks are among the people of the North, and their condition is most deplorable in the two great States of Maine and Massachusetts, where, since 1780, slavery never existed. Now, the people of the North are eminently humane, religious, and intelligent. What, then, is the cause of the misery and debasement of their free black population? It is chiefly in the fact that the free blacks, among their real superiors—our own white population—are, and ever will be, a degraded caste, free only in name, without any of the blessings of freedom.—Here they can have no pride, and no aspirations—no spirit of industry or emulation; and, in most cases, to live, to vegetate, is their only desire.—Hence, the efforts to improve their condition, so long made, in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and

many other States, have proved utterly unavailing; and it grows worse every year, as that population augments in numbers. In vain do many of the States give the negro the right of suffrage, and all the legal privileges of the whites: the color marks the dreadful difference which, here, at least, ages cannot obliterate. The negroes, however equal in law, are not equal in fact. They are nowhere found in the colleges or universities, upon the bench or at the bar, in the muster, or the jury-box, in legislative or executive stations; nor does marriage, the great bond of society, unite the white with the negro, except a rare occurrence of such unnatural alliance, to call forth the scorn or disgust of the whole community. Indeed, I could truly say, if passing into the immediate presence of the Most High, that, in morals and comforts, the free black is far below the slave; and that, while the condition of the slave has been greatly ameliorated, and is improving every year, that of the free blacks (as the official tables demonstrate) is sinking in misery and debasement at every census, as, from time to time, by emancipation and other causes, they are augmented in number. Can it, then, be sinful to refuse to change the condition of the slaves to a position of far greater wretchedness and debasement, by reducing them to the level of the free-negro race, to occupy the asylums of the deaf and dumb, the blind, the idiot and insane; to wander as mendicants; to live in pestilential alleys and hovels, by theft or charity; or to prolong a miserable existence in the poor-house or the jail? All history proves that no people on earth are more deeply imbued with the love of freedom, and of its diffusion every where, among all who can appreciate and enjoy its blessings, than the people of the South; and if the negro slave were improved in morals and comforts, and rendered capable of self-government, by emancipation, it would not be gradual, but immediate, if the profits of slavery were ten fold greater than they are.

ADMITTING TEXAS SECURES THE EXTINCTION OF SLAVERY.

Is slavery, then, never to disappear from the Union? If confined within its present limits, I do not perceive when or how it is to terminate. It is true, Mr. George Tucker, the distinguished Virginian, and professor in their great university, has demonstrated that, in a period not exceeding eighty years, and probably less, from the density of population in all the slaveholding States, hired labor would be as abundant and cheap as slave labor, and that all pecuniary motive for the continuance of slavery would then have ceased. But would it, therefore, then disappear? No, it certainly would not; for, at the lowest rate, the slaves would then number at least ten millions. Could such a mass be emancipated? And if so, what would be the result? We have seen, by the census and other proof, that one-sixth of the free blacks must be supported at the public expense; and that, at the low rate of \$50 each, it would cost \$80,000,000 per annum to be raised by taxation to support the free blacks then in the South requiring support namely: 1,666,666; if manumission were permitted; but as such a tax could not be collected, emancipation would be, as it now is, prohibited by law, and slavery could not disappear in this manner, even when it became unprofitable. No, ten millions of free blacks, permitted to roam at large in the limits of the South, could never be tolerated. Again, then, the question is asked, is slavery never to disappear from the Union? This is a startling and momentous question; but the answer is easy, and the proof is clear; it will certainly disappear if Texas is reannexed to the Union; not by abolition, but against and in spite of all its frenzy, slowly and gradually, by diffusion, as it has already thus nearly receded from several of the more northern of the slaveholding States, and as it will continue thus more rapidly to recede by the reannexation of Texas, and finally, in the distant future, without a shock, without abolition, without a convulsion, disappear into and through Texas, into Mexico and Central and Southern America. Thus, that same overruling Providence that watched over the landing of the emigrants and pilgrims at Jamestown and Plymouth; that gave us the victory in our struggle for independence; that guided by His inspiration the framers of our wonderful constitution; that has thus far preserved this great Union from dangers so many and imminent, and is now shielding it from abolition, its most dangerous and internal foe—will open Texas as a safety-valve, into and through which slavery will slowly and gradually recede, and finally disappear into the boundless regions of Mexico and Central and Southern America. Beyond the Del Norte, slavery will not pass; not only because it is forbidden by law, but because the colored races there preponderate in the ratio of ten to one over the whites; and holding, as they do, the government, and most of the offices in their own possession, they will never permit the enslavement of any portion of the colored race, which makes and executes the laws of the country. In Bradford's Atlas, the facts are given as follows:

"Mexico—area, 1,690,000 square miles; population 8,000,000—one-sixth white, and all the rest Indians, Africans, mulattoes, zamboos, and other colored races."

"Central America—area, 188,000 square miles; population nearly 2,000,000—one-sixth white, and the rest negroes, zamboos, and other colored races."

"South America—area, 6,500,000 square miles; population 14,000,000—1,000,000 white, 4,000,000 Indians; and the remainder, being 9,000,000, blacks and other colored races."

The outlet for our negro race, through this vast region, can never be opened but by the reannexation of Texas; but in that event, there, in that extensive country, bordering upon our negro population, and four times greater in area than the whole Union, with a sparse population of but three to the square mile, where nine-tenths of the population is of the colored race, there, upon that fertile soil, and in that delicious climate, so admirably adapted to the negro race, as all experience has now clearly proved, the free black would find a home. There, also, as slaves, in the lapse of time, from the density of population and other causes, are emancipated, they will disappear from time to time west of the Del Norte, and beyond the limits of the Union, among a race of their own color; will be diffused throughout this vast region, where they will not be a degraded caste, and where, as to climate, and social and moral condition, and all the hopes and comforts of life, they can occupy, among equals, a position they can never attain in any part of this Union.